

/462 cont./

Chapter X

Masks

532
796
[122] The handsome masks, whose description I shall give further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kāwi and were /463/ in their normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able [126]
[241] to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

115. My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeytí on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

796
795
789 At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for example, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee. If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

796 The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

• [535] The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

Chané SF 8
Arawakan Indians SRL

C /465 cont. /

796
241
[171] descendants or relatives the fertility of the fields and the abundance of the future harvest. These masked festivals have their counterpart in the famous ceremonies of the populations of the Negro River, the details of which Koch-Grünberg has made known to us. Besides, it is probable that the Chiriguano borrowed these ceremonies, and especially the masks, from the Chané. It is the racial brothers of the Chané, the Arawak of the Negro River, who celebrate these festivals with the most splendor. The Chané of the Parapití still accord to these ancient rites more importance than the Chiriguano, and their masks crowned with immense tufts of feathers are, it appears, more sumptuous than those of their old Guarani enemies.

796
241
[171] In the missions the carnival has lost its purely pagan significance and has become contaminated with usages which the Chiriguano have borrowed from the half-breeds. Nino (pp. 267-270) gives a good description of them, of which I shall summarize the principal features.

C
[532] The festival is directed by a personage wearing an old-man mask. He stops at each corner of the square, recommending peace and harmony to all.

Then they give themselves over to different games: masked personages scatter bean pods or corn bran upon the dancers.

C
[171] Young men, masked but almost entirely naked, daub themselves with mud and try to soil all those who have new garments. These two customs can have only a Bolivian origin.

C
796
535
[536] Individuals who are also masked mime a combat between a jaguar and a bull which is finally put to death by a fanciful butcher. Then they pass on to the pleasures of the dance. "The dancers form a large circle by joining hands and dance thus three times. Three times also they squat down, and three more times they pass under the extended arms of a couple of the same circle, and finally the same number of times they press against one another, forming a big mass, their faces turned toward the outside and their hands folded. They remain in this position until another couple dances around them. These do not hold each other by the hand. The man chases the woman and tries to grab her. She avoids him and goes to hide in the middle of the others."

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

000

726

C

[727]

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

C

727

266

C

527

727

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the *quena* or end flute (pl. 43, bottom) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and *sereres*, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, d). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

C

534

177

C

534

Cc

534

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

C

535

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of *chicha* are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

C

273

628

527

276

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

Fermented drinks.—Maize *chicha* is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

C

273

462

The shamans (ipays) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of Aguara-tunpa. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

/261/

The Music for the Ayarise

527

535

533

[293]

The signal for the dancing and singing is given by the host, who first makes a short speech to the maestro, who is carrying in his hands a Yandugua, a kind of parasol or umbrella made of ostrich feathers fastened around a long, straight piece of hollow cane. All the feathers have their natural curve outward (1).

[293]

[126]

1. The Yandugua in the Florence museum was purchased in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission by the Reverend Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogio, tireless missionary of Potosí.

See the picture on page 77.

527

535

After the speech that the maestro and dancers listen to as if it were a Good Friday sermon in church, the singing and the dance begin. The maestro keeps time with his yandugua, the men dance by moving their feet from the knee, striking the ground without moving from the place they occupy, and the women behind the men with a maté in hand, full of chicha or not. The women take one step backward and another forward, and, not staying in the same place, they walk in time around the men with the formality and exactness of priestesses and hold hands with the other hand, two by two.

527

533

The larger the number of dancers, the more noise they make; there is no staying near them, because the men sing too loud. At a distance, to a person who is used to these songs, they seem relatively pleasant, but at night when one hears them for the first time and does not know what they contain, a thousand things will pass through the mind. Here are the verses of the Ayarise:

[539]

Ayarise, rise -- Mborisese, sese -- Rosa yainde -- Imbaragüe -- Yuma chúrere -- Yuma chuépa -- Soro poco -- Eh! Eh! -- Saisá -- saisá -- Cururu hetesimí pinte -- Hevi sunzu -- Iparanta tapiti -- Cha machá imbarayu -- Imbará, boteriyu -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. It is perhaps appropriate and my readers may like

/261 cont./

527
533
539

to know the approximate meaning of the Ayarise, and so I put it in this note: "Let us sing, companions -- let us keep on singing -- with our women -- and orphans -- we are all here -- singing and dancing -- I know and I like this song -- The toad and the green frog stop -- and the rabbit makes an effort -- I am tired -- I stop and go off. Eh! Eh!

527
535
533

The Chiriguano can sing all day with these few verses, as in fact they do, but with rests. In order to finish the song all together and rest and drink for a long while, the men make a great stamp on the ground with one foot in time /262/ and a shout out of time, and everything stops with a special resounding and prolonged laughter of the women dancers.

Without leaving the circle of the singing and dancing, the lord of the fiesta has the dancers served abundant drink, which they partake of to their satisfaction in order to begin the Ayarise again as they were doing before, always at the command of the Purumuncau vaé and under the direction of the maestro, who does not put down his Yandugua (1).

[293]

1. There is one maestro of the ayarise, and he always has his yandugua, but this does not prohibit others from having one; there may be as many as ten in one dance, and they serve as parasols when the heat is very oppressive. The Indian Guarerai of Ivu had six and he lent them out during the solemn fiestas of the town.

527

The dancing and singing of the ayarise continues in this fashion until nine or ten in the morning; then the banquet is prepared in the public plaza, where they choose the cleanest place. There men and women sit down in separate places, and at once they bring from the houses the food, which has been prepared upon plates, where there is broth mixed with meat well seasoned with salt and chili peppers. Meanwhile two enthusiasts of the town

/262 cont./

527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, ex abundantia musti os loquitur. But great friendship and harmony prevail; then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence; at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

[622]
[798]

Mbapa páure

535
184
173 This dance is similar to a quadrille; couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the Mbapa páure is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the Itácuá mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Menbirái and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Gũiracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Thus, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their towns.

/263 cont./

535
184
173
Someone went to teach it in the towns located behind the hill of Aguaragüe, and the towns located on the right bank of the Cuevo River intended to introduce it, but, seeing the dismal consequences that resulted from it, they have abstained to this day, so that it is a fact that the Mbapa páure is now limited to the small towns of Caraguatarenta, Nagua, and Caraguatagüe, and it is certain that it is neither heard nor seen in the large towns of Santa Rosa and Ivu, which are a few kilometers away (1).

[837]

1. In the towns where the Mbapa páure is sung, there are upset marriages, because the dance is between a man and woman holding hands, which does not happen in the Ayarise; therefore, or to avoid said upsets, many caciques do not allow it to be introduced into their area of jurisdiction.

The Music of the Mbapa páure

527

533

535

[184]

This is another piece of music which has been scored for a band by the Reverend Father Domingo F. Regini; it is much simpler than the ayarise, but the song and dance attract a great deal of attention, because they are not known in all the Chiriguano towns. It is a kind of carnival which lasts for a long time, but when the said time is over, nobody again remembers the Mbapa páure until a year has passed. Here are the words of the song: Tavia, Tavia -- Erecosiye mbapa páure -- Tirisoti, tirisoti -- Ancua chopi -- Chopi nano saraviyé -- Eh! Eh! Uetepeso, güeremeso -- Yagua tairari, yagua tairari -- Yurumbopi -- Yémanta -- Eh! Eh! (2).

[539]

2. Explanation: Let us sing the mbapa paure, like the blackbird sings, let us sing until we are left with our mouths twisted and we are tired, even though it give us a pain in the chest, let us challenge even the jaguar, and let our mouths stretch. Eh! Eh!

/267 cont./

541
177
648

Don Antonio Menduiffa, who had requested aid; he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

[178]

[461]
[292]

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

[532]

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toboroichi wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Agüeros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

541
535
[527]

By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu.

[532]

On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns,

/268 cont./

541
535 who also give their long or short speeches. If asked, the masked men say that their town or region is Matamorocho.

541 If there is no partner, the women dance among themselves, but as soon as a man appears, she dances with him, holding hands, and many couples dance quite close together; their style of dancing is to raise first one foot and then the other to the rhythm of the music. The zapateo /tapping with the feet/, as they call this dance, lasts until the Sunday or Saturday of Temptation without rest, and on the next day, which is the last, the games begin. At ten o'clock several young men in masks undress, leaving covered what is purely necessary, cover themselves completely with mud, furtively approach the group of dancers, and then charge in every direction, squeezing among the better dressed and thus creating confusion among all. This game is called the game of the pigs, and they imitate them very well! (2).

2. Before this game the disguised men pour over the dancers bean pods and maize siftings left from the preparation of the chicha; this is in order that there may be plenty in the following year.

/269/ The games in the afternoon are quite varied; once the game of the pigs is finished, or even before, two little blacks come out with maize-husk cigars in the mouth and a rope in the hand, leading a person in the disguise of a bull, who is defended and protected by a luxuriously dressed woman, who holds up a flag hanging from a hollow-cane pole; the little blacks are the bull's masters and they even lead dogs, and when the bull is under the flag, he is not bothered much.

At the same time, as though he had come out of the forest, another person appears disguised as a jaguar, and he begins to fight with the bull; if the bull begins to get the worst of it, the masked men who play the role of dogs rush to his defense and hound the jaguar, as those on horseback also do. Once

/269 cont./

541

in a while the jaguar catches some little dog and makes it cry out, and sometimes it unseats some rider. After a longer or shorter time, the bull or jaguar dies in the battle; generally the former survives, because they kill the latter among them all, between the dogs and cowboys. Then people in disguise who are playing the role of butchers appear, buy the bull from the little blacks with stone or bone money, and butcher it.

• 535
541

Immediately the dancers form a large circle, holding on to each other with both hands, and they dance this way three times; a number of women huddle over and three others pass under the extended arms of one couple of the circle itself, and a number of others join together, forming a big mass with faces outward, with hands linked together and crossed, remaining this way until another couple dances around them without holding hands, but rather with the man trying not to be caught by the woman, and, if this happens, he then hides amidst the others until his companion has gone by, coming out again to dance until he has gone three times around, taking the same precautions each time as on the first (1).

1. The circle is made up of all the couples who have come to participate in the fiesta; it is made up of a man and a woman with both arms extended and with the hands held; the circle takes up a lot of space, according to the number of couples.

Finally, with the whole circle dancing, they make three circuits in the town, dancing, hands joined, at the corners of the plaza and in front of the houses where they had danced on the previous days. /270/ All of the masked persons join in the first circuit; they form their circle and the head man makes his speech, then the older ones form a seat with their canes crossed, make a little boy sit there, raise him up some two meters, form with crossed canes a shield around his head, and all the rest pour on him a prolonged shower of blows with the hollow cane, without hurting him, and then they let him down. They do this three

/270 cont./

times in different locations (1).

1. At the carnival, during the three days, there are women who dress like men and men who dress like women, but both cover their faces well so as not to be recognized; this was also taught them by the white man.

[152] On the second circuit all the Agüeros, the masked ones, a mestizo term, ask from house to house for provisions, and they accept everything, even bean pods and watermelon rinds, and on the third circuit, which is the farewell, there begins the wailing of big and small masked persons, laden with provisions and scraps; these weepers really make the old people and others cry, because some of them are thinking of their departed ones who are not present at this festivity which is ending, and others perhaps because they think they will not get to see another carnival. I questioned an old man who was really crying, and he gave me the preceding answer. When the last circuit ends with the drums muffled as a sign of sorrow, all of them, riders, dancers, and agüeros, go out of the town and go to a place where they throw away the masks and immediately go to the river, or a spring, to wash their hands and faces a little (2).

2. All of the foregoing games in Ivu were taught them by the same white man whom I have mentioned, and in the beginning he taught them by demonstration, causing astonishment, particularly in the women and the old persons; many of the said games are immoral, especially the circles and the massed group.

Easter

Forty days later the Chiriguano has another fiesta, that of the Pascua de Resurrección /Easter/, which was introduced by the whites; the old Indians call it nice because it is quiet, as they call the carnival very noisy.

/280 cont./

defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any tiredness (1).

1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the writings of Father Giannacchini, a missionary of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work that, before the fighting began and during it, women and maidens come out to the plaza and in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré. This song and dance must have originated among the Toba, who at that time were numerous in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu region and other regions they scarcely know the name of the Aré aré, and not all share in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in no combat which has occurred to the north, south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been danced and sung.

During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was invaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength, were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they attacked the mission, from which it can be concluded that their hate was against the whites, and concomitantly against the Indians who were

XXI

Dancing Masks.

C
Ce
177
532
527
● 535

A Chané Indian on the Rio Itiyuro told me that mask dances were introduced among the Indians by the Whites. PADRE BERNARDINO DE NINO was also told by the Chiriguano that the celebration of the carnival came to them from the Whites, and he plainly considers that we here have to do with a custom which is not of Indian origin. This is certainly wrong. The fixed date of the festival came to the Indians from the Whites, but the manner of celebration is manifestly derived from an old Indian custom which corresponds to similar masquerades described from Brazil by KUCH-GAT'UNGO. This appears from NINO's own account of the celebration of the carnival.

The ceremony is at least partly a feast of fruitfulness. The mask dancers throw the husks of beans and the offal from chicha-brewing at the other dancers in order to secure a good harvest. Just as in northwestern Brazil, some at least of the Chiriguano-dancers appear disguised as animals which they imitate. NINO says that towards the end of the festival the old people weep because they call to mind the dead who cannot share in the pleasure. The ceremony is ended by the participators going out of the village and throwing their masks into the river or some other water-course and there washing their faces and hands. Sometimes they burn the masks, as is done in northwestern Brazil.

BAYIRAYU, a most reliable old Chané Indian, assured me that when he was a boy he had seen masks on the Rio

/238 cont./

finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chief as well. Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred. It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians become mistrustful of him. An old Chane once said to me: "You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen in these villages.

At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were handing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to ask someone to play the flute on a minshapen reed.

Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chane only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).

Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy said the idea for them had originally come from the whites. Batirayo, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio Parapiti he saw among the Chane some of the present masks, which

Cc /239 cont./

535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
 532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
 177 in those days they had around their legs
 796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
 [534] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
 [237]

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
 532 always destroy the masks after the
 177 carnival. They are either burned
 541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
 535 call the masks "añanya."

E It is strange what a great
Cc role the carnival now plays as a
 541 festival among the Indians. This
 177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
 [464] that the whites distribute great quanti-
 ties of spirits there and that the Indians
 who work for them are given a few
 days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
 527 distance to the festivals. They appear
 273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
 292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
 574 combed. Most of the old costumes
 301 and ornaments, however, have already
 disappeared. Nevertheless one still
 sees women in home-woven clothing
 with necklaces of chrysocolla and
 [178] turquoise. I never saw used, however,
 the silver diadem and the silver
 pins which belong to the festive attire.
 One often sees the men's blue
 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver
 chest ornaments preserved in the
 huts by the old people, but they
 are not used for the festivals.

Cc Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
 535 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
 527 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
 273
 533



Fig. 118. Soup spatulas.
 Chiriguano.

A = Tihuipa. 1/8.

B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

cc
527 /240 cont./
533 and beating time with their feet. The women walked slowly
535 up and down in time with the song, outside the circle of men.
273 Among the Chané and Chiriguano the attire of the white
E man is replacing everything old and beautiful, and of my many
291 old friends among the chiefs of these Indians only Maringay
177 scorns the rags of the whites.
C
cc
273 Liquor is being introduced more and more among these
177 Indians, and the ceremonial, pleasant maize-beer festivals are
527 turning into crude drinking bouts.



Fig. 119. Dance mask.
Chiriguano. Yacuiba. 1/6.

cc
578
273 I shall never forget a night in Vocapoy's village. The
177 /241/ men had gone to the Christians to drink liquor. When they
came back, harsh words fell and knives were displayed. The
liquor would have claimed bloody sacrifices if the courageous
women, with firebrands from the maize-beer boiling, had not
thrown themselves between the quarreling men and, after
separating them, taken them home with soothing words of flattery.